/113/

Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

/255 cont./
designated as "much" (teč kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below//see pp. 190 ff./). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian missionizing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure, with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish language and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, especially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/285 cont./

578 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward
754 him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman.
756 He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon
578 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought
75 him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman
774 realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyic. The only possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyic. It came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a powerful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more,
789 the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to
824 carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way. Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal. He then strewed čayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no longer walk, so the people were able to capture him.

75 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a
774 nyic, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars. The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/286 cont./

75 774 possible. After his soul has thus been killed, the sorcerer, too, must die.

754 774 The same type of soul-capture as is reported here by the teyu is also the most common method of evil sorcery practiced by the nyic. The nyic digs a hole and stations himself above it, in order to await the wandering soul of his victim. It is visible, like a lighted candle. When it is over the hole, the nyic gives it a powerful blow with his staff, so that it falls into the hole. If it is supposed to die very quickly, the nyic throws strongly efficacious herbs over it and covers the hole with graveyard soil. If not, he has many possibilities of inflicting on the soul, and therefore on his victim, injury that takes effect more slowly. If he sprinkles the herb baw (Araceae) over it, the stomach of its owner becomes so distended that he dies. If the nyic sprinkles lime over the soul, the person becomes blind. In the case of the poisonous herb boračero (Datura sp.), the owner of the soul becomes insane; the stinging smoke of the agave also produces insanity. Putting the leaves of the čuwét (Krameria ixina?) and the soul together brings death. The herbs kaspi (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze), lečero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), and Pringamoza also cause death.

754 774 824

f) The Sociological Aspect of Shamanism

182 756 Although the shamanistic ceremonies and the conceptions underlying them are of a religious nature, nevertheless the activity of the shaman is a definite sociological fact. Without the activity of the teyu, neither the family nor the village community can exist. It is only the shaman who, through his personal abilities, is able to counteract the evil effects of the nyic, the tũs, eč, and gẽlyõmp spirits and turn them into something good. His activity, however, consists not only in the repulsion of what has already appeared, in the healing of what has happened, but his activity is also preventive, in fact, prophetic, for he predicts future sicknesses or deaths. Moreover, no house construction,

/228 cont./

indicating hope, for if they moved from the knee to the foot, there would be no need to receive the coca, tobacco, or aguardiente, for the patient would be incurable. Only when the signs are favorable does he take the pouch of remedies received from the patient and pass it around in the same way as he did the remedies, with the aim of invoking Thunder and Kallumb, his helpers.

He orders the patient to chew the bundle of remedies which he presented to him not long before. He picks up the tama (5) in his hands and blows on it with the remedies that he

5. Cf. below, "The tama" /see pp. 17-18/.

is chewing, which are the same as those chewed by the patient, for the purpose of preventing the ptans ("dirt") sent by the sorcerers from surprising the curer and killing him. In this case he may have the mambe /lime to be chewed with coca, or the coca and lime together/ in his hand and nevertheless remain motionless, with blood running from his mouth. Then, and to the front, he drives in the tama, the weapon of Thunder, to indicate to him that he is not working in a bad way, but in such a way and in accordance with his teachings. Before putting it in the ground, he passes it around his body so that it will protect him from the ptans.

Next to the tama he puts the bottle of aguardiente, which he places a sprig of chayuts; if it remains upright and floats, it is a good sign, while if it tilts and sinks to the bottom, it is an omen of death. On top of the bottle he puts a small calabash to measure the aguardiente, in which is also put a sprig /229/ of chayuts; it serves as a preventive, for it prevents the ptans from catching the curer unprepared and killing him.

Then he puts a handful of coca in his mouth and begins to chew; he remains seated, almost motionless, his eyes trained on the room and on the tama, attentive to the slightest motion;

/229 cont./

75 from time to time he puts in more coca and more mambe,
[276] which he takes from a small calabash (kuetand tuka), pours on his right fist, and throws with force into his mouth. He watches. Sorcerers work systematically to send him the ptans, and they must not catch him unprepared. The signs warn him as to when he must blow the chew in order to contain the ptans.

He tells the patient that the signs are favorable; there will be an immediate improvement. The pains which assail him are due to the ptans which he has from the vertex to the nape.

After 20 minutes in a motionless and expectant state, the curer stands up with his face raised, as though illuminated, walks jauntily to the tama, blows the chew violently; he fills the small gourd with aguardiente and tosses it into the air. This is the invitation to Thunder.

He returns again to his place, takes a cigar and crushes more than half of it, puts more mambe in his mouth, and remains quiet, his hands folded and his arms resting on his knees. Only the deepness of the night with its characteristic sounds disturbs this decisive moment. No carelessness. It might have fatal consequences. He remains in this position for about 40 minutes.

Then he takes the chew from his mouth with his hand and tosses it in the direction of the tama, after having passed it around his body. The patient does likewise. He immediately tells the sick man that he must return with all the remedies. He interrupts his work. Thunder has shown himself to be
75 favorable. Since the patient has ptans, a good "cleansing"
783 must be done, for which he must bring three pounds of meat to be eaten after the cleansing, chicha, one pound of coca, one liter of aguardiente, and six cigars. The curer himself must
[177] go to the lagoon in search of the remedies. He advises the patient that for a period of three months at least he must not use the drugs of the whites, for if he did so, he would die.

The cleansing of the ptans. At 7:00 P.M. the patient comes to the house of the curer. He hands over the medicines

/229 cont./

75 requested. /230/ He divides the aguardiente into two bottles:
783 one for Thunder and the other to drink. In Thunder's bottle he
[782] places a sprig of chayuts, after passing it around his body; the sprig remains floating and vertical, a good omen. He puts the coca in a special pouch, along with the aguardiente and cigars. He makes up two bundles of remedies with maize husks. One is for the patient, to chew and swallow the juice.

75 He divides the other bottle, takes chayuts, passes it around
78 his body, puts it in the small calabash, fills it with aguardiente, and goes out of the house to toast Thunder. Then he gathers his pouches of remedies, a calabash of chicha, the patient's coca, a candle, and matches, and he goes to the divination site. When Thunder comes, he will ask the curer what the patient has presented to him. The he will show him the chicha and aguardiente. Thunder, satisfied, will say: "Take this, since you received it." They will drink together. Thunder's share will be tossed into the air. The patient must remain inside the house. When the time comes, he will call him for the "cleansing."

75 Outside, the night is black as ebony. The silhouette of
783 the curer is barely visible. He sits under the eaves to the south of the house. He begins to chew the remedies after passing them around his body. He drives in the tama and beside it he places the bottle of aguardiente. Immediately after this, seated, almost squatting, with his hand folded, quiet and motionless, gazing into space, grave, self-controlled, conscious of his mission, imbued with his knowledge, he spends long hours conversing with Thunder and warding off the attacks of sorcerers. From time to time he gets up without haste, slowly, as slowly as the passing of the hours of the night, and he beats with the tama, displaying the energy that marks the activities of the curer. The patient, lying on a cowhide, with no covering other than his own clothes, sleeps near the fire; he wakes up at different times, pierced by the intense cold of the night; outside he hears the constant, rhythmic, regular, vigorous blowings of the medicine man.

/230 cont./

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783 At two in the morning, or rather, at the first cock's crow, the tẽ eu calls the patient. The moon is full; the night seems white. The sick man sits to the right of the curer. He receives a bundle of remedies to chew. They are yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskei. They help with the c[illegible]ing, and when spat out they will remove the "dirt" (ptan[illegible]

/231/ He places chayuts on the patient's crown in order to ward off any possible attack by the Echi. He advises him again not to use the remedies of the whites and, in case there is no improvement, always to return to the curer.

The curer passes to the right of the patient, about three meters. He points at him with the tama and blows out chewed coca and aguardiente in order to contain the black cloud (ptans) which may come at any moment. He comes to the patient and rubs him (cleanses him) with the tama, beginning with the right foot and continuing along this side; at the crown he rubs several times, sucks (absorbs the "dirt") for five or six breaths, rubs again; he lowers the tama to the throat, rubs, sucks the right shoulder, rubs again, and passes the tama to the nape of the neck, where he repeats the process; he ends up by bringing the tama down the left side. Over a hole dug previously to the left of the curer and about 15 meters away, he spits out everything that he had in his mouth and the dirt that he collected from the patient; he vomits; he blows one mouthful of aguardiente into the air, dismissing the "dirt," and drinks one so that the "dirt" will not enter again. He calls the patient, orders him to spit out the remedies that he has chewed, and hands him the bottle to measure out two drafts: one to be blown into the air and the other to be swallowed. He covers up the hole carefully. Curer and patient return to their places.

The tẽ eu takes a good handful of shu and tashũ, dips it in water in spite of the fact that it is quite damp, and goes to the patient. He begins the cleansing by going upward from the right foot. At the crown of the head, throat, and the nape of

/231 cont./

•75 783 the neck, he exerts some pressure and the icy water runs down the body. He goes down the left side and then goes to the hole to bury these remedies. With these remedies the body absorbs coolness. After having buried them, he blows aguardiente into the air and then drinks some more.

Once more at his place, he gives the patient a few herbs (shu and siempre viva?) to hold in his hand. He goes to the right of the patient and from there points to him with the tama and blows; he draws nearer, and he makes the familiar passes with the tama and the remedies named. He rubs the crown of the head (vertex), throat, and the nape of the neck.

[782] They go to the hole and toss the herbs into the hole. The curer takes a mouthful of aguardiente, stretches the tama toward the horizon, rises proudly, sets his eyes in the direction of the tama, blows violently several times, and soon his attitude becomes entreating. [191] /232/ Actually, he prays in Spanish: "Lord, help us; I implore you for everyone." The té eu said later that he had prayed to Thunder, so that he would help him and would not permit the sorcerer to discover this hole where the "dirt" was buried. He drank a swallow. The patient blows a mouthful of aguardiente into the air and drinks a second one. They return to their places. The curer picks up the calabash of chicha, goes to the hole, and pours it out. It is a gift to Thunder.

Once more in his place, he puts yacuma, shu, and tashú into a calabash of cold water. He goes to the patient's right and from there sprinkles this water first on the house and then on the patient, who first removed his hat by order of the curer. This is a veritable bath, so that if any ptans should remain, it would be removed and he would be completely clean. The remaining water is poured into the hole. He blows aguardiente and drinks some more, the patient proceeding in the same way. The curer raises the tama and implores: "I pay you; I shall pay you." The curer said that he had spoken as follows:

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783 "There are all the remedies that you pointed out to me. If another patient comes, help me." Then he pours out all the aguardiente as a toast to Thunder.

With this, the cleansing is over. It is 3:30 in the morning.

He advises the patient not to change the remedies and not to take a route below that hole. He states that the signs are favorable and that he asked God for the patient's improvement.

To summarize, the cleansing of the ptans is done at night, beginning at 8:00 or 9:00 P.M. and ending at 3:00 P.M. /sic/ approximately. The following procedure is observed:

1. The patient must give to the curer two eggs of coca, one bottle of aguardiente, and two cigars.

2. The curer puts these remedies in a special pouch. He makes up a few bundles of remedies with yacuma blanca, ul fiñ, ñundayuskei, bitopiskue, chandur de castilla, chayuts (Santa Rosa), or yacuma, chayuts, tayuskei, shugues, tatse, echiutse (Calderas). All of these remedies are passed around the body of the curer.

3. At the Kachí, he places the tama and aguardiente in a special spot, hands over to the patient a bundle of remedies for chewing, and puts chayuts (Santa Rosa) or guepekás (Calderas) on his own and the patient's vertex (crown).

4. The first cleansing is done with the tama, by rubbing and by sucking the vertex, the right shoulder, and the nape of the neck, in order to remove /233/ the ptans and spit it out into a hole to bury it. There is blowing and the drinking of aguardiente by curer and patient.

5. The same procedure is followed with the wet remedies (shu, tashú) to lend coolness to the body.

6. A new cleansing is carried out with other herbs (shu and siempre viva?) with the rubbings and the suckings at the places mentioned, the burying of them, and the blowing and drinking of aguardiente. In Santa Rosa, this is the moment when the curer makes his entreaty.

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5:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Chandur	. . .	?	Cooling. Used to clean away ptans. There are two varieties. The large one is called: flusha.
Esh	Coca	Erythróxydon /Erythroxylon/ coca.	Boiled roots and leaves: colic and diarrhea.
Bichach	Caucho /rubber/	Hevéa?	Leaves roasted in embers for fractures, dislocations, contusions. The dry leaf is removed and placed on cabuya tops for rapid healing.
Chulco	Chulco	Oxális sp.	Against smallpox.
Chayuts*	Contento, Alegría /sesame/	Scutellaria racemosa Per.	Panacea of the Paez.

/233 cont./

7. The curer toasts Thunder with the chicha, sprinkling it in the air.

8. The curer washes the patient with a calabash of remedies. He fills up completely the hole that contains the "dirt," sprinkles the remaining aguardiente, and ends the cleansing with some final advice. It is 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning.

All treatment of illness is carried out with this cleansing procedure. That is to say, when the impurity (ptans) has been removed from the body, the health of the patient is restored. The curer combats the ptans. In a sense, the cleansing is a hard fight in which the curer is engaged.

The tama. The tama is a chonta staff about 40 centimeters long and indispensable for every cure.

While in other cultures the medicine man uses the maraca as an indispensable accessory in the art of curing, viewing it as having a mythical origin and thus a sacred character and magical properties, and while, according to Roth, certain piai of the Guianas use wooden dolls in their conjurations (6), among the Paez this little staff called tama

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6. Métraux, Alfred. Le Shamanisme Chez les Indiens de l'Amerique du Sud Tropicale /Shamanism among the Indians of Tropical South America/." -- Acta Americana, Vol. II, No. 3, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944, pp. 217-218.

is used. In Santa Rosa, a curer-sorceress uses in her treatments a wooden dolly dressed like the people, received, according to the informant, from Thunder himself, and called "Soft wind of Thunder."

[773] According to all the evidence, this name is derived from that mythical personage, more precisely that culture hero,

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Small chuwet	?	?	To propitiate streams.
Fisa, bitopat	Dodoquero	?	In combination with yukchacha and montaña barbasco, it is used to treat blennorrhagia.
Echiutse chime*	?	Labiada?	Against the pest. Bathing with this herb wards off Echi, especially when traveling at night.
Guepekás	Pringamoza. Ortiga /nettle/.	Urera boccifera L.	Wards off ptans. Used for sorcery.
Kuese	Barbasco de lo caliente	Lonchocárpus?	In winter it is blown into the air to make summer come. Used against chande (scabies).

5:Bernal Villa--25 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

5:Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

●75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

/253 cont./

755 done; she would have to confess, or else he would have her
*756 arrested. She was wholly to blame. The servant girl took
57? fright and replied that perhaps she might be responsible, since at one time she had picked up an echi and put it in an ají bush. And it was this angry echi that was now killing her employer. At once the curer went to the ají bush, removed the echi, and blew fresh remedies at it. He set about divining anew and found out that the rainbow had also put hairs on him. On the following day he removed them. The patient recovered; it was proved that he was a good curer, and demonstrated that the other one did not know anything.

754 The Té eu and the sorcerer. It is said that a sorcerer can
*756 at the same time be a good curer, but we know perfectly well that the Ghost and Thunder do not give their knowledge to the sorcerers. On the other hand, when a té eu is asked for information about the remedies of sorcerers, they invariably answer that they know nothing about them, for if they were to learn about these remedies they would lose their wisdom.

The curers believe that they are constantly pursued by
●75 the sorcerers. Yet, they are able to kill them. A curer from
539 Santa Rosa related his success to us as follows:
774 "When I was a young boy, I was clever and mischievous; I already knew remedies. On one occasion a sorcerer declared his enmity toward me because I was becoming a good curer. I fell ill, and the signs indicated to me my approaching death. In Huila there lived a good curer, and I went there with plenty of coca and aguardiente. He told me that I would die if he did not go to work at once. It was sorcery, and he had to kill the sorcerer. I would have to stay with him for at least a month. 'Let us go to work and dig a hole in order to kill that fellow,' he said to me. He made the first hole, which we used for several nights, for the sorcerer whom we were seeking was very clever. He would call the soul and it would come, but it did not allow itself to be caught; it was very suspicious. The sorcerer was very dangerous, he had killed my mother and my brothers. We went on working. The

/253 cont./

75 539 774 month went by, and we were unable to catch it. We did not sleep. The curer would make another hole, and another. We were tired. 'We shall catch that scoundrel /254/ yet,' he would say to me. When we went on to the seventh hole, at the crowing of the first cock, the soul came. The curer had his tama ready, and at once, zoom! he gave it a blow and it fell into the hole; he tossed earth on top of it and tamped it down well. After a few moments the soul made a whistling sound. 'We killed it,' the curer exclaimed triumphantly. I saw the sorcerer's soul. Then the curer told me to go back, for I was cured. He advised me to take remedies with me, since there are many robbers along the way. Thus it came to pass. I was careful at the dangerous spots. The signs indicated to me the presence of robbers and at once I blew remedies at them (kit sust). They went to sleep.

* 756 539 789 Farther on I met some people who were pursuing a criminal. They gave me coca and aguardiente so that I might prepare the remedies at my house and help to capture the criminal. Thus it came to pass. I put chayuts around my feet and the criminal was unable to walk. They caught him."

75 774 [783] Others say that the one bewitched, with his relatives, goes to the curer, bearing coca, tobacco, and aguardiente. They kill a pig and put a piece from each organ into a small pouch. This is the grease for catching the sorcerer's soul. At the crowing of the first cock, when everyone is chewing coca, the soul comes to get the small pouch, immediately falls into the hole, and the curer tosses upon it fierce echi, remedies, and the chews of all, and covers it and tamps down the earth. This is how he kills the sorcerer. He immediately cleanses the sick person and his relatives. The danger has been averted.

* 756 787 783 When the curer feels the signs at the crown of his head, ptans is being sent to him. He goes without delay to the kachí with pringamoza, paramo cabuya, tama, and flica to wait

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SAN ANDRES

Fams.	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Livestock $	Livestock %	Trade $	Trade %	Day Wages $	Day Wages %	Crafts $	Crafts %
1.°	3.120,00	58,7	1.460,00	27,5	500,00	9,4	.....	.....	.....	....	225,00	4,4
2.	48,00	54,2	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	40,50	45,7	.....	....
3.	132,00	70,5	....	....	.....	....	55,00	29,4	.....	....	.....	....
4.	22,20	28,3	....	....	.....	....	56,00	71,6	.....	....	.....	....
5.	389,00	62,2	....	....	.....	....	45,00	7,1	191,00	30,5	.....	....
6.	152,50	61,6	....	....	.....	....	95,00	38,3	.....	....	.....	....
7.	87,00	26,6	....	....	.....	....	240,00	73,3	.....	....	.....	....
8.	195,00	42,3	[illegible]	43,4	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.... (38)
9.	320,00	72,6	120,00	27,2	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
10.°	2.000,00	89,2	....	....	240,00	10,7	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
11.	1.455,00	53,1	600,00	24,8	600,00	24,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
12.	170,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
13.	650,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
14.°	190,00	4,3	1.810,00	46,5	880,00	22,8	120,00	3,1	888,00	22,8	.....	....
15.°	379,00	14,4	....	....	100,00	3,8	.....	.....	2.143,10	81,7	.....	....

/The headings are obviously in error on this table./

38. Deficit compensated for by $65.00 saved in 1952, or 14.1% of the income.

In the statistical table of expenses, the first thing that we observe in the three parcialidades is the small amount of money spent under the headings "Drugs," "Medical Service," "Taxes," and "Education."

The protection of the health of adults and children is fundamental among the Páez. Child mortality has a high percentage, and parasitosis, diarrhea, and tuberculosis are almost endemic. But in Páez culture the care of the té eu (good curer) and the nasa jihi (sorcerer); the former protects people from illness and from the curses of the latter; the sorcerer with his magic powers can take people's lives. On the other hand, the té eu openly condemn the use of the drugs and the medical service of the "whites." These two institutions still enjoy great power and basically govern almost all of the institutional life of the Páez. In Mosoco seven heads of families spent small sums of money for the purchase of drugs. /The following table and illustrations appear between p. 360 and p. 361 in the original text./

[text continues on p. 108]

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● 75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the té eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.